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THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY E. W. WINKLER

III

HAYES TO BRYAN

Cin[cinnati] May 31st 1857

Dear Guy

Hearty congratulations upon your nomination. I learned it this moment and sincerely rejoice at your success. None of your friends in Brazoria Co looked for the news from the Waco convention more impatiently than I have. For two weeks I have been a daily reader of the 'Delta,' Picayune & Bulletin—dry papers which usually I scarcely glance at—hoping to hear from the convention. Strangely enough it comes first in the New York Tribune. New York is always ahead.

I have for sometime, in the feeble light I could get here, feared that the chances were against you. I saw you were stronger than either of your competitors—far stronger—but I feared as often happens that all of them would combine against you as the formidable candidate. Besides I feared from what I saw about your opponent who resides at Galveston and the movements of his friends that the lawyers would be likely to oppose you, or to favor another, and as my profession in the 'rural districts' particularly, are all politicians I thought there was danger in that direction. And so in my ignorance of the exact posture of affairs I have conjured up a variety of causes which probably had no existence but which might work your defeat. Worst of all however I heard some days ago that Runnels was nominated for Governor. No mention was made of Congressmen but I inferred your defeat supposing that the candidate for Governor was your old neighbor from Mississippi, and I thought that both candidates would hardly be taken from the same County.

Well this is a long story to let you know how I am relieved and delighted with this result. I feel as Birtie did the other day about the Rhubarb pie. He could hardly be induced to taste it. But on trying it was very fond of it burst out "I thought I didn't like it—and I tried it—and I did like it—and then I was so happy."

There is I take it no doubt of your election. Now get married, and you are fairly on the road both to distinction and what is better happiness.

I don't want to have your labors increased by writing to me, but send me some paper containing the ballotings in your Convention, and after the election the returns. Your Democrat & Planter is very deficient in these details, figures &c though quite interesting in the main.

Regards to all—

As ever

R. B. Hayes

P. S. Ordinarily Cincinnati Congressmen are not men that you would care to associate with, But in the next Congress we send two able honorable gentlemen—men superior in all estimable qualities to either of our Senators. My only objection to them is that they agree with you in general politics.

H.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Gulf Prairie P. O. Brazoria Co¹⁹

June 15th 57

Dear Rud

Yours of 31st ult was recd on yesterday evening & I hasten to answer it.

I thank you my friend for your congratulations, may your predictions & hopes as to the future be realized.

You desire to know the ballotings in the Convention. I will give them. There were 33 ballots.

On the first I stood 30; [Hamilton P.] Bee, [of Webb County,] 25; [M. M.] Potter, [of Galveston County,] 16; [A. P.] Wiley, [of Walker County,] 15.

2nd Ballot I got 31, Bee 25, Potter 16, Wiley 15.

My positive strength was 31, Bee 25, Potter 16, Wiley 15. I was the second choice of a majority of the Delegates voting for the others.

Had it not been that the State Convention met at the same time & place with the District Convention I should have recd a large majority on the first ballot. But the friends of the State

¹⁹The original of this letter, folded and addressed, is among the Bryan papers. The copyist did not find it in the Hayes papers. Perhaps, through an oversight it was never mailed.

Candidates who were Delegates to the District Convention traded votes more or less. This left me a plurality. All the wire working politicians were opposed to me, but the *people* were & are with me. Wiley would not withdraw & in consequence kept up the ballots otherwise it would have been decided in a short time in my favor. The two third rule was adopted which encouraged the hope with those opposed to me that I might be defeated. All the other candidates have opposition. As yet I have none, & it is thought that I will have none, yet I should not be surprised if Houston were to bring out some one in opposition as I have condemned his course & shall do so whenever occasion offers.

The people are with me & I presume I shall be elected but I shall electioneer but little & if I were to consult my own feelings none at all, the party has claims upon me & in a few days I shall turn out.

I have written this much merely to gratify you as you desired the information.

Runnels lives in Bowie Co & is a sensible but not a brilliant man. The whole ticket is *thorough Southern Rights* of my school of politics & you know what that is, & what I think of Calhoun.

Mrs. Joel Bryan is now in Ohio. Should she visit Cin. you will of course see her. She is & will be during the summer at Cambridge visiting her sister Mrs Skinner. Mary & her youngest is with her. Stephen's wife is in Iowa. Stephen & I are opposed to spending money among you Black Republicans. Rud during the next four years we shall see another crisis. What think you of the decision of the Sup. Court "On Dred Scott Case"?!

Kiss Birtie for me & tell him I will get him a *big "Rhubarb pie"* when I see him. Kind regards to your wife & other relatives. Where is your Uncle *love* to him

You say I must marry. I would give up all hope of *distinction* for a good wife, Love to George & my namesake Guy & remember me kindly to his wife

As ever Yours

Guy M Bryan

A friend of mine who went on with Mrs Bryan Mr Millican

may be in Cin. if so remember he is *my friend* gave letters to you & George introducing Mrs Baker & Miss Runnels they too are among my best friends

HAYES TO BRYAN

Cin[cinnati] July 10, 1857

Dear Guy

I am glad to notice that you are likely to have a very smooth race of it. With a determined opposition a contest in a district of such magnificent dimensions as yours would be a serious business.

I was at Kenyon Commencement (time changed to the first Wednesday in July)—many friendly inquiries were made about you. Quite a bitter rivalry has sprung up between the two old societies—an amusing partisanship is the result. All the bad passions belonging to the larger politics of the world are exhibited in miniature. You would have enjoyed looking on as I did.

George and myself have been looking for your friends and from their non arrival as yet we suspect they have given up coming. Lucy and the youngest have started for the country where I shall soon follow with Birch.

You must enjoy the peppering which "Old Sam" is getting. Write me when you have time.

As ever

R.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Cin[cinnati] Apr 5, 1858

Dear Guy

I have been quite busy lately, but luckily got my eye on your short speech on volunteers &c. I suppose this was your maiden effort in the House.²⁰ It was no doubt a success. You did well all you attempted to do. By asking if you were "dissipated" I referred of course to the social dissipation, balls, soirees &c of Washington. As you are unfortunately a bachelor I thought you

²⁰Mr. Bryan's remarks on the bill to raise one regiment of Texas mounted volunteers for the protection of the frontier appear in *The Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., 1174.

might be on the look out for some legitimate avenue to a knowledge of "domestic institutions" and in that connection I asked you an old question which was a bye-word with you and old Trow and myself at Kenyon. What are the "*prospects*"? The "prospects" referring, as I hope to remind you, to Trow's courtship of Mary (or was it Jane!) Douglass.

I am glad you have kept clear of a set speech on the doleful subject of Kansas. I cant help thinking less of a man who on either side of that question feels impelled to talk when it is so obvious that it is squeezed dry. If drawn into an offhand debate it is all right; but of deliberate malice to perpetrate an essay for fear some body may not understand the Member's position shows a want of taste, self-reliance or something else that I deem essential.

Times are growing better with us—business men pushing ahead again, and the great crash will soon be forgotten.

You notice of course the singular phenomenon called by the religious press the "great awakening." It is a quiet, unobtrusive, decorous movement thus far and yet very absorbing and universal. I watch it with much interest. In no event can there be much harm in it—the reaction of such a revival, which must come, will naturally partake of the peaceful character of the movement and be attended with little mischief; while results permanently useful may reasonably be expected from the "awakening" itself.

I suppose you have little time to think about either soul or body. I wish your district and by consequence your labors was diminished to one tenth. You might then think of "prospects."

We have no court today it being election day for municipal and township officers.

As ever

R.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Cincinnati, Oct 11, 1858.²¹

Dear Guy

I received yours of the 27th this morning. I am very glad to hear that you are to marry Laura Jack. I recollect her perfectly. She was when I saw her a bright, pretty, sweet girl of ten or twelve with a face and figure that gave promise of much beauty. You are a lucky man after all. I feared you were doomed to live and die a bachelor. I have possibly some crotchets on that subject, but I am in the habit of expecting to see bachelors eccentric, given to hobbies, and with many ways and notions which are objectionable. Intellect, education and sound morals and affections do not seem to be a protection from these tendencies. "Its no use talking" Guy, you are to be married in the nick of time. You have a prize I am sure. You will be happier, you will make your friends happier, you will be a wiser and a better man. Things that now seem to you so important, which interest and perplex you over much, will sink to their proper places. Home and wife, family and friends will rise. A thousand thousand congratulations on this happy event. You don't yet appreciate it yourself. A year or two of married life will work wonders.

I shall see your wife of course. She probably does not recollect me. I remember her dark hair and eyes in contrast with the singular beauty of her older sister, a blonde. But enough, I am in favor of the Union—a union far more important to your future than that other Union which we quarrel about so much.

You are going out of public life for a time. I rather regret that. With a wife and family it would not be so absorbing as it is now.

Our election takes place tomorrow. It is a very exciting struggle. Elements are now taking position for the future. It is to be decided whether the Democracy will control this city and

²¹The letterhead shows a change in the law firm from Corwine, Hayes & Rogers to
R. M. Corwine.

R. B. Hayes.

CORWINE & HAYES,
Attorneys at Law,
Office in Selves' Building,
Third Street.

county in the future as in the past. A decisive preponderance either way will fix the course of things for some little time. I barely escaped being in the fight. I suppose that by simply saying 'yes' I could have received the nomination in Mr [William S.] Groesbeck's District, and that I could have been elected over him. With the present candidate I think he will be beaten. I mean that Mr. Groesbeck will be beaten, but it is not by any means a clear case. Mr [George H.] Pendleton I suspect will be reelected. But what odds does it make? You are to have a wife and home, and that's worth all the seats in Congress twice told. My love to your wife. She is a capital woman I know. Blessings on you both. As ever,

R.²²

The enclosed is my oldest—Birtie.

²²Two letters from his old friends Fay and Jones:

Columbus O. Jan 21, 1859

Dear Guy

I am very much in want of a volume published by Congress in 1858, and on the strength of a promise made me a year or two since when you were examining some Natural History Books in my Library, that when you went to Congress you would send me whatever I might want, I take the liberty of requesting you for a copy of the General Report upon the Zoology of the several Pacific Railroad Routes. Part 2d. The Birds, by Spencer F. Baird. You are aware that I pay great attention to Natural History, and therefore venture to trouble you for this Book, which I would not do if I could obtain it in any other way. I am satisfied however that, if you can find time to attend to it, you will do so with the greatest pleasure.

Are you never coming to see us again, or do you intend never to let us hear from you again. I know you are deeply engaged in Politics but can you not spare a few moments to drop a line to your old friends

Yours sincerely

H. Tudor Fay

Cincinnati June 16th 1859

Dear Guy

A line from me will visit you like a spirit of the past and maybe call up sweet memories. My whole household were sadly disappointed in not seeing you and Mrs. Bryan, especially as you gave me to believe you would not run again. I regret it for my part exceedingly as I hoped to unite our friendships by that of our wives, but I'll not despair though I feel you have not made many efforts to see your old Ohio friends. Since my return from the east, my little folks have been almost the entire time for ten weeks confined in hospital by scarlet fever. Five at once. Just think of that Guy and shudder. I cannot feel too grateful for the restoration to health and am now happy at my country home with rosy cheeks and smiling faces about me. I have taken a house for the summer five miles from the city and find the free bracing air of the highland environs give me a sharp appetite, and sound frame. So even

HAYES TO BRYAN

City Solicitor's Office,
Cincinnati, Sept 10th 1859.

Dear Guy

It is a long while since I have heard from you or written to you. I have thought of you often as often as ever, and take as great an interest as ever in you and yours. We are sorry not to have seen you and your wife before you left for the South in the Spring. This will not I hope be the last of you in Washington. I do not question your sincerity when you express disgust with political life at Washington. No doubt its dark side is dark enough; yet that ought not to drive from the public service good men whose tastes opportunities and abilities point [them] out as fitted for public station.

How is your wife? How are you living? Write me of all your affairs; how is Stephen and your older brothers? Uncle Birchard spent a good deal of the winter & Spring with me. He often talks of you all. He has tolerable health now and does not change rapidly. He has joined the Presbyterian Church and is largely interested in church and religious matters. He is free from all sectarianism and bigotry, takes cheerful and hopeful views of things and is as clear of all that is disagreeable

if I am not entirely a farmer I am half way between my farm and my store, and have good chance to draw comparisons. Yes verily God made the country, man made the town.

We are now on the eve of our harvest, with cheering prospects for great abundance. The recent frosts of great severity checked vegetation for a short time, but the weather being so favorable since nature has bloomingly regained her losses. I hope our increase will only be but the reflection of that in the South. Then wild wars deadly blasts may blow. If gentle peace reigns at home our country will soon recover from the disastrous blight of 1857.

Friend Rud still shares the honors of the political hand having been only recently a prominent candidate for a seat on the Supreme Bench of our State. His own apathy and another nigger issue threw him off. Yet you can see how he stands at home. . . .

My Guy exhibits many traits of fine character, with daring recklessness to keep alive the remembrance of his father's boyhood. His uncle Guy has a large place in his memory.

Please let me hear from you and believe me as ever your friend

G. W. Jones

My Grandfather Col Johnston you may notice is chairman of the Board of Visitors at West Point. It is his last effort from home. 87 years give few travelling facilities.

in many persons who are religiously inclined, as any one I ever knew. He is a happier and perhaps a better man.

My wife and boys are my world, and occupy all my time, or nearly all which is not given to business. Outside of my profession, I read occasionally a good book, and keep a general run of politics. This summer I made a trip with Birtie to Kenyon. Rogers is there studying Theology. I staid with Julia Buttles *Smith*. Mrs. Solace (Harriet Platt), Lizzie Campbell (Little) and Dr John L. were all there pleasantly reminding me of old times. I have also during the vacation of the Courts made a pleasure trip East and to Mammoth Cave.

[Stephen A.] Douglas was here and spoke last night. It is supposed by most of his friends that the South will consent to his nomination at Charleston, and if so his chance of winning the Presidency seems very good. His last expression of his views in Harper²³ certainly strengthens him in the North.

Write to me

As ever

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston Jan 24th /60

Dear Rud—

I recd your letter, your welcome letter some time since, and I ought to have answered it some time ago, but when it came I was absent, and when I got back I postponed writing until I left again, and when I returned home I found so many things to look after that I permitted first one thing and then another to shove your letter aside until now I am really pained that I have delayed not forgotten you so long.

First, Rud, I have a baby, a fine son born on the 17th inst. He is doing well so is my wife. I know that you will rejoice with me, my friend. I would like much for you to see him. Every one says he is so like his father.

I have built a comfortable house in this place and may live here permanently. This is more the desire of my wife than my

²³"The dividing line between federal and local authority. Popular sovereignty in the Territories." By Stephen A. Douglas, in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, September, 1859, pp. 519-37.

own, the country I prefer, and if I don't live in Brazoria Co I may have a plantation higher up on the Brazos. I like this city very much, and if it were not for the Yellow fever, it would be the most desirable place to live in of all our Southern cities, for the climate is so delightful in summer.

I am out of politics, thanks to my wife and my own good sense. Yet I do not know how long I shall stay out. I find the old passion at times very strong within me. The Union is trembling to the center. How long it will stand God only knows. You know my views. They are unchanged only strengthened by a term at Washington. I really did not care to go back.

Write me and let me know how you and your family are. How my friend and your Uncle Birchard is. I was really very glad to hear that he had joined a church, not that it would make him better, but possible happier. He is a good man and I sincerely esteem him.

Present my regards to your wife and mother, also to Doc Webb and do not forget to kiss little Birch for me. Tell Jones to write to me and that I never got the works on grapes that he said he sent to me.

I am as ever your friend &c

Guy M Bryan

Present my regards to Groesbeck and ask him if he is not glad that he is not at Washington.

HAYES TO BRYAN

City Solicitor's Office,
Cincinnati, Feby 7th 1860

Dear Guy

I am very glad to hear of your good fortune. Me and my wife send congratulations to you and your wife—our boys to your boy. Not done in the best of English but the sentiment is sound and the good wish sincere. I am glad to hear from you once more.

George and myself held a class-meeting or if it is more in your line a caucus over your long silence a few weeks ago, and we began to fear that the deadening effect of long separation added to intensity of political separation had ended our correspond-

ence. You are the only college friend from whom even an occasional letter or reminder is to be expected. All the rest have drifted off into unbroken silence.

I like Galveston as a home with a summer retreat from the Fever. Ladies and Gentlemen getting respectable if not venerable prefer I find a City; but children ought to be in the Country. We hope to enjoy both conditions hereafter. Uncle has nearly finished a beautiful residence in a fine grove about a mile from Fremont, which is to be our home in Summer.

You know we have three boys, the youngest nearly two, the eldest 'going on seven.' All fine boys of course, and what is not so fine they are all just getting well of the measles,—they have had (the two oldest) all the other baby complaints except the scourge of this climate scarlet fever, and that we hope to escape.

Uncle is in usual health. Matthews of Columbus, Buttles & Case are all doing as well as ever—B. better than usual, he is a church member and nearly rid of his insane appetite it is thought. Dr L. as usual. Geo J. is East buying stock (goods). The Dr. [Joseph T. Webb] is with me: still a bachelor, and the best nurse and boy amuser living. I would recommend you and your wife if there are any bachelor brothers to cultivate them with increased affection; they are so useful when you have had enough boy, and that time comes occasionally, you will find, strange as it may now seem. But these little ones are a great comfort. No doubt you will so find it. The precious little Guy, I hope he will be healthy and a living happiness to you all these many many years.

As ever

R. B. Hayes²⁴

²⁴The following letter from Levi Buttles announces the death on April 19th of Dr. Douglass Case, a graduate of Kenyon and of the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania:

Cleveland, O., May 23, 1860.

My dear friend,

I have for weeks been trying to get time & get started to drop you a few lines.

So far away as you are, & your time so occupied in political matters I thought it extremely doubtful whether you had heard of the death of, may I not say, your *warmest* friend & *greatest* admirer, for "he could love much" & next to his dearest relation I think you stood. I therefore at this late day enclose you a couple of notices one taken from a Colum-

HAYES TO BRYAN

Cincinnati May 8, 1861

Dear Guy

I have just received and read your letter of the 27th ult.²⁵ It does me good to hear from you again. I have thought of you often since these troubles began. Curiously enough, having a bad cold and a slight fever, I dreamed of many things last night. Among others I dreamed of seeing you at the Burnet House, that you wore on your cap some sort of Secession emblem and that you were in danger of getting into difficulty with some soldiers who were in the rotunda, and that it was after some effort that I succeeded in getting you rid of them. I should have written you soon even if I had not heard from you.

Your predictions as to the course of things have indeed been very exactly fulfilled. I can recollect distinctly many conversations had twelve perhaps even fifteen years ago in which you pointed out the probable result of the agitation of slavery. I have hoped that we could live together notwithstanding slavery, but for some time past the hope has been a faint one. I now have next to no hope of a restoration of the old Union. If you are correct in your view of the facts, there is no hope whatever. In such case a continued union is not desirable were it possible. I do not differ widely from you as to the possibility of conquering the South, nor as to the expediency of doing it even if it were practicable. If it is the settled and final judgment of any Slave State that she cannot live in the Union, I should not think it wise or desirable to retain her by force even if it could be done.

But am I therefore to oppose the War? If it were a war of conquest merely, certainly I should oppose it, and on the grounds

bus paper signed M & written by Judge F J Mathews of Columbus, & the other from a Cleveland paper. . . .

Yours truly

L. Buttles

²⁵In a letter to the editor, Mr. Charles R. Williams says, "I fear the Bryan letter of April 1861 must have been lost. I have never seen it—to my regret, as it was no doubt most interesting, to judge from Hayes's reply and his comment on it in a letter to his uncle."

Hayes's comment appears in a letter to his uncle May 12: "Bryan writes me a long, friendly secession letter—one-sided and partial, but earnest and honest; perhaps he would say the same to my reply to it."—Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 121.

you urge. But the war is forced on us. We cannot escape it. While in your state, and in others, perhaps in all the Cotton growing states, a decided and controlling public judgment has deliberately declared against remaining in the Union, it is quite certain that in several states rebellious citizens are bent on forcing out of the Union states whose people are not in favor of secession—that the general Government is assailed, its property taken, its authority defied in places and in a way not supported by any fairly expressed popular verdict. Undoubtedly the design to capture Washington is entertained by the government of the Southern Confederacy. Undoubtedly that Confederacy has not by its *acts* sought a *peaceful* separation. Everything has been done by force. If force had been employed to meet force I believe, several states now out of the Union would have remained in it. We have an example before us. Two weeks ago Maryland was fast going out; now aided by the power of the general Government the Union men seem again to be in the ascendant. The same is true of Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri and Western Virginia, with perhaps allowances in some quarters.

I do not of course undertake to predict what will be the ultimate object of the War. I trust it will not be merely the conquest of unwilling peoples. Its present object, and its obvious present effect, is to defend the rights of the Union, and to strengthen the Union men in the doubtful states. We were becoming a disquiet, demoralized people. We are now united and strong.

If peaceful separation were to be attempted it would fail. We should fight about the terms of it. The question of boundary alone would compel a War. After a War we shall make peace. It will henceforth be known that a state disappointed in an election cant secede, except at the risk of fearful war. What is left to us will be ours. The war for the purposes indicated—viz for the defence of the capital, for the maintenance of the authority of the Government and the rights of the United States, I think is necessary, wise and just. I know you honestly differ from me. I know that thousands—the great body of the people in some states, perhaps agree with you, and if we were only dealing with you and such as you, there would be no war between us. But if

Kentucky, Virginia and other states similarly situated leave the Union, it will be because they are forced or dragged out; and our Government ought not to permit it if it can be prevented, even by War.

I read your letter to Judge [Stanley] Matthews. We agree in the main respecting these questions: I shall be pleased to read it to George when we meet. He has two brothers who have volunteered and gone to Washington. Lorin Andrews, Prest of Kenyon, our class-mate is Col of a regiment. My brother in law Dr Webb has gone as a surgeon. I shall not take any active part probably unless Kentucky goes out. If so the War will be brought to our own doors and I shall be in it. If I felt I had any peculiar military capacity I should probably have gone to Washington with the rest. I trust the War will be short and that in terms just to all Peace will be restored. I apprehend, and it is, I think, generally thought that the War will be a long one. Our whole people are in it. Your acquaintances Pugh, Pendleton and Groesbeck are all for prosecuting it with the utmost vigor. Vallandigham is silent, the only man I have heard of in any party. He has *not* been mobbed and is in no danger of it. I will try to send you Bishop McIlvaines address on the War. It will give you our side of the matter. We shall of course not agree about the War. We shall I am sure remain friends. There are good points about all such wars. People forget self. The virtues of magnanimity, courage, patriotism, &c &c are called into life. People are more generous, more sympathetic, better, than when engaged in the more selfish pursuits of peace. The same exhibition of virtue is witnessed on your side: May there be as much of this, the better side of war, enjoyed on both sides, and as little of the horrors of war suffered, as possible, and may we soon have an honorable and enduring peace.

My regards to your wife and boy. Lucy and the boys send much love.

As ever

R. B. Hayes

P. S. My eldest thinks God will be sorely puzzled what to do He hears prayers for our side at church, and his grand-

mother tells him that there are good people praying for the other side, and he asks "How can he answer the prayers of both?"

HAYES TO BRYAN

Thirty-ninth Congress,
U. S. House of Representatives.
Washington, D. C. 15th Feb 1866²⁶

Dear Guy

Enclosed you will find Stephen's papers. The reason I didn't write again I discovered on another visit after writing you that you had previously been pardoned.

There is really no reason to feel any uneasiness because of the delays in acting upon the cases of the different Southern States. Those which send Union men will be represented in Congress, and fully restored without any severe or degrading conditions. There is a great deal of nonsense on all sides, but no substantial interests are likely to be sacrificed. I am told that the Committee on reconstruction will report favorably on Tennessee at an early day.

I really can't tell about land sales. We hear some hard stories about the treatment Northern people get in many parts of the South. This for a time will naturally discourage the purchase of lands.

I am in much haste. Love to yours
As ever yr friend

R. B. Hayes.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Cincinnati Oct 1st 1866

My dear Guy

Your letter of the 18th came duly to hand. It finds me in the midst of an unusually exciting political struggle. The election is next week. I am a candidate for re-election and expect to succeed by a large majority. I will bore you with only a few words on politics.

²⁶The date when the correspondence between Bryan and Hayes was resumed after the war has not been ascertained. This is the earliest letter from Hayes found; however, it refers to at least one earlier. The letters from Bryan to Hayes up to May 18, 1867, have not been found.

I think the election will show that the people are resolved to adopt the Congressional plan of reconstruction. It does not *disfranchise* any body in the South. It disqualifies for holding office those who have been leaders—the *old* office holders. All young men are qualified although implicated in the Rebellion. The disqualification probably applies to no man in your State who is now under twenty seven or eight years of age. Recollect too that the disqualification can be removed in any case by a two thirds vote of the Senate and House. That vote will be obtained in all cases in a few years if peace and loyalty are restored in the South. You have of course seen our plan. I send you one of my electioneering speeches which contains the different sections and let me frankly say *that if we carry these elections this plan contains the best terms you will ever get, and they should be promptly accepted.* The young men are with us almost universally. The life and energy of the North is with us. If the elections are against us we shall submit. If they are *for* us the Democracy will submit. We shall be united in any event. Do not be again deceived with the hope of Democratic help in a further struggle. I hope you will give the Congressional plan a fair hearing. If we succeed you must adopt it if you regard your own welfare.

I am very much obliged by the photographs. They are in our Album of particular friends and near relatives. My wife is in love with the fine faces of your children. I can readily believe all you say of your boy.

I have three boys living—my three eldest. We lost two boys—both under two years. Birchie, aged 13 is in all respects a noble and promising boy. Webb aged 10 and Rud aged 8 are good boys also. They are all absent from home now. The two big boys with their Uncle at Fremont and Ruddy at Chillicothe. My mother now aged 75 is at Columbus in good health. Uncle often talks of you and would give a great deal to see you. If you come North do try to visit him as well as myself. My brother in law (whom you know) Dr Webb is travelling in Europe. My wife's mother died a few weeks ago. With no small children and no old person about the house my family seems small. I hope I shall see you soon.

I am sure you did all that friendship required to meet Gen Fullerton. I count upon the constancy and sincerity of your feelings by what I know of my own towards you. The only things he could have said to you was to give you my views of the future duty of the South. If we succeed in the elections now pending don't be deceived by Andy Johnson. The North will be far better united during the next struggle, if unhappily there is one, than during the last. Johnson and his office holders will be "a mere snap—a flash in the pan." Ten thousand majority in Ohio is as good for practical purposes as a unanimous vote. We shall be united in action. We shall submit if the majority is clearly against us. Our adversaries will submit if it is otherwise. My last word is don't let Andy Johnson deceive you. He don't know the Northern people.

As ever

R.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Dear Guy

Cincinnati 5th Nov 1866

I would have sent the enclosed letter as to Stephen's affair before, but I have been absent attending in the last sickness and at the funeral of my Mother at Columbus and Delaware. She died without pain in the possession of her faculties to the last, and confident of the future. She was almost seventy five years of age. Uncle Birchard was with her and the most of her grandchildren.

My regards to your wife and the little folks.

As ever

R B Hayes.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Dear Hayes—

Galveston May 18th 1867

After the receipt of your last letter I wrote you a long letter in reply mostly in regard to the condition of our country &c. I concluded not to send it but to wait until you wrote to me again. You have not done so, and I have concluded to write and not to wait on you. You did not send (or I did not receive) the speech you mentioned having sent to me made by you in your canvass—consequently I am left to rumor and my own deductions as to your political position and views.

From your votes (as I occasionally meet with the votes of your House) I infer that you are with the Extreme party. I am truly sorry that when you and your wife came to N Orleans that you did not write to me in advance informing me of your coming and I would have met you there, *to be with you*, and get your views, and to give you *facts* as to Texas.

I have no political aspirations of any kind. I could not indulge them even if I had them. I have kept as quiet and unobtrusive as it were possible for any one to be since the Surrender of this side of the Miss. I have done so not from any craven spirit, but from a sincere desire to set a good example and to facilitate reconstruction, and a proper submission to the powers that be. I am now as earnestly anxious for a restoration of good will between the Sections, and reestablishment of the Union as you can be. I desire it from correct motives. I say in all truthfulness that I believe *nine tenths of the people of this State and the South feel the same way*. Can my assertions have any force with you? It is humiliating to repeat these things to you, and to feel that perhaps they will not be believed. I did think at one time that I would not write to you again on politics until after all was peace, and my State once more was recognized as such, but my friend I cannot refrain from doing so, when I see the studied efforts made to get up difficulties between the Whites and the Blacks. The most extravagant addresses are made by designing white men to the negroes—deceiving them and exasperating them against their former master. We are willing that the negro should vote without hindrance under the reconstruction act. We do not desire or intend to interrupt them in any way; it is not our *policy* or our interest to prevent them from having all the liberty allowed them under the law, and really it is not our desire to deceive but if possible to aid in elevating them; for they are here amongst us, and it is to our interest as well as theirs that they should be enlightened as much as possible. This is not only my view, but it is the opinion of every well informed Southern man I have talked with. Then why oppress us and get up a war of the races by exciting the negro against the white—which in the end must result so disastrously to the negro! Hayes let me appeal to you as one with whom

I have so often broken bread, whose associations so long were identical with my own, whose blood and skin are from the same tree (for your mother was an *Austin*) I beg of you to aid in resisting the reckless manner with which the question of races is dealt with by the agitators at the South. The people of the South have to act under the reconstruction law in *good faith*—*lend your efforts to enable them to do it!*

I want you to give me your *private* opinion (which I will regard as *private* if you should desire me to so observe it) whether I stand in any danger of my landed property being confiscated by future legislation of Congress—to me *individually* your opinion is of great moment, for I am cramped now in my *plans* for the *future*, not knowing what a day may bring forth. You know I have recd the President's pardon on the recommendation of Gov. Hamilton and others and my own petition. I have rented out my residence here, and will leave within four weeks for a place I am improving in the country on the Bay ten miles from this city. If I can go forward with confidence in my plans, it will be greatly to my interest and comfort. I ask you as an old friend to write to me candidly whether you think I stand in the slightest danger from confiscation. If I do not, of course my brothers do not.

Recently I learned that Genl Griffin who commands this district is the "Charley Griffin" who was at Kenyon from Granville, Ohio, when we were there. If you know him, write to him what sort of a man I am. I intend to call on him, and I would like that he and Genl Sheridan should know my character, for circumstances might enable me to serve the Govt, the people of Texas and be of benefit or rather aid to them *if they knew my character* from one who knows my love of truth, and steady adherence to principle and my word, as well as any one.

You were with Sheridan and a line to him also from you might not be unproductive of good. I give you my word that the association thus brought about will be used by me for the good of the country only and not for any individual purposes whatever. Write to me Hayes immediately on receipt of this and tell me what you think of our status, and especially let me know about confiscation. The idea is being spread among the negroes

that the lands of the whites will be taken and given to them and that they will have their own rulers and their own government &c.

Give my sincere regards to your wife and children—

Yours

Guy M Bryan

P. S. When you see your Uncle tell him to come down and see me. He will always receive a warm welcome from his old friend. I have never had but one sentiment towards him that of affection. Should you and yours come here my house of course will be your home and it will be the pleasure of my wife and myself to make you and your wife feel that your wearing blue and I gray has not affected our hearts toward each other.

I am going to a very quiet place in the country immediately on the Bay where I shall be free from all the noise of the political battle that may be going on around me. If I can I want to keep out of difficulty with anybody.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Dear Hayes

Galveston June 24 1867.

Your welcome and satisfactory letter in reply to one from me in regard to confiscation &c has been received.

I did not write to you after your last, not because you had "offended" me, but because after having written a letter, I thought perhaps your party bias and your standpoint would not permit your friendship to rule and take my statement and reasoning as meant and for their worth. I do not *know* what your political sentiments are. I am left to infer them. I suppose you to be a *Conservative-Radical*. I still think you my old friend, and my heart warms towards you whenever I think of you as such. I might *regret* that you held views adverse to mine, but the holding of them would not "offend" me, and prevent my writing. It was natural for you to side with your section, fight its battles, and now in govt sustain what you think its policy. I think that the powers that be, have greatly erred in policy, greatly erred in statesmanship in their treatment of the people and States of the South. I think wisdom points to undoing the wrongs and errors committed by the govt and its agents as rapidly as possible. I write this not as a discontented and refrac-

tory rebel, but as one knowing something of politics and statesmanship and the history of nations, and the principles of our own govt. I am opposed to any more political troubles. I want *the govt* to be *stable*, I fear no disturbances from the South—its people are ruined, they need and pray for peace and a stable govt. Can the same be said of the Northern people?

The Southern people are *at the feet of the Northern*. I ask at least from you magnanimity and justice. Now, they are at the mercy of the military officials, and negroes whom you know are not their equals in any respect, are in many respects placed above them. There is not I assure you any disposition on the part of the former masters to prevent the negro from having all the rights given to them under the law—not that they would have passed such laws but being the law they honestly mean to sustain and act under it—*honestly* they wish to act and in good faith *reconstruct* under the *law* provided by Congress. But such obstructions are thrown in the way of their registration, and the negroes by some are so misled (by demagogues) and have such ignorant and impudent notions, and act with premeditation to provoke difficulties with the whites, that I do not know what will be the result. The *whites* want to reconstruct if permitted. I thank you for *your* opinion for the future. I value it or I should not have asked for it, but if the U S govt does not confiscate, negro juries and negro legislators may. Is it possible Dear Rud that you can not raise your voice against the doom of the South. You are remote from the scene of our troubles and if you were in our midst perhaps would only see the bright side of the question and would only lend your ear to those who would speak through “loyal mouths.” You will not in reply say “You have brought this on yourselves.” “Rebellion is a great crime,” &c. The people of the South with a unanimity unparalleled resisted the U S Govt. So did the Fathers of ’76; *they* succeeded; we *failed*. Is failure a *crime* in the eye of the liberal, refined and educated? I know your nature. *You* will not judge us in this way. You can and will raise your voice in behalf of right, humanity, justice, and statesmanship. I said in my last letter to you that your mother was an Austin. I here say that the Southern and Northern people are of the same

blood and people, and that they and the negro are not from the same stock. I do not mean to *change you*, but simply to call to your mind these subjects. You once came to the relief of the Nu Pi Kappa. Come now to the relief of the Southern *people*, as a *man* carrying out the feelings and acts of the youth.²⁷ I know not your ambition or your views, but the South is worth cultivating by the American Statesman.

I thank you for your letter of introduction to Genl Sheridan. I do not know that I shall ever use it. It may be of service. I thank you whether I present it or not. I am living about ten miles from this city on the Bay shall remain there until cold weather and perhaps longer.

Present my regards to Mrs. Hayes.

Guy M Bryan

²⁷The reference of this appeal is explained by following incident. The account of this incident was not written down till nine years later, in response to a request from William B. Bodine addressed to Guy M. Bryan for some reminiscence of Kenyon College. Mr. Bodine published it for the first time in *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1878, p. 704.

"There were in those days two rival literary societies in the college—the Philomathesian and the Nu Pi Kappa; the last known as the Southern Society, and the first as the Northern, because the students of the slave states belonged to the one, and those from the free states to the other. The college for years had been largely patronized from the Southern States, but this patronage gradually waned until, in the winter of 1841, there were so few Southern students in the college that the members of the Nu Pi Kappa were apprehensive that the society would cease to exist for want of new members. This was a serious question with the members of the society. I determined to open the subject to my intimate friend Hayes to see if we could not devise some mode to prevent the extinction of the society, which was chartered by the state and had valuable property. We talked over the subject with all the feeling and interest with which we would now discuss the best means of bringing about an era of good feeling between the two sections of the country. At last Hayes said, 'Well, I will get "Old Trow," Comstock and some others to join with me, and we will send over a delegation from our society to yours, and then we can make new arrangements so that both societies can live in the old college.' He and I then went to work to consummate our plan. Ten members of the Philomathesian joined the Nu Pi Kappa. A joint committee was then appointed from the two societies, that reported a plan by which students could enter either society without reference to North or South. Thus Hayes, by his magnanimity, perpetuated the existence of the Nu Pi Kappa society, and should he be elected president, I earnestly hope that he may be equally successful in his best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between North and South in the government of our common country."

HAYES TO BRYAN

Washington 9th Nov 1868

Dear Guy

I came here last night chiefly to attend to your cause. The President has just given me an order for *the pardon of yourself and brothers*. I congratulate you all.

I concur fully with the sentiments of your letter. I hope you will all agree to one further amendment of the Constitution, viz the basis of representation to be voters.

This I deem very essential. Don't commit yourself *against* it until I can write you fully.

I return home tomorrow. All Cincinnati friends are well. Regards to your wife.

As ever

R B Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Near Galveston City Jan 1st 1869

Dear Hayes

My nephew Guy is spending his New Years with us, and his visit to Columbus brings up the past, and I greet you with a Happy New Year to *you and yours*.

I was so glad to hear from Guy of your cordial reception of him and his mother [Mrs. Joel W. Bryan]. Glad to hear too that Mrs Hayes called with you to see my sister. I have more than once taken up my pen to write to you, but your *short* letter (last recd) induced me to hope that you would write again. I feared too that my letters of *complaint* might not be agreeable to you, although you said in your last that you liked my frankness. I hope (now Grant is elected) that we will see better days in the South. He was not my preference but I believed he would be elected when he was nominated by your party, and so said up to the election. I have not thought, and do not think, that he will be a *partisan* but that he will be the President of the *United States*.

There is but one sentiment among the thinking men of the South, and it is "give us *peace*." Give us confidence, hope, and a foundation on which we can rebuild. All are willing that the negro shall have his rights of person and property fully pro-

tected and in these to be equal to the white man. But to be the equal at the ballot box and in our social relations for one, I am not willing—not willing, because they are not qualified and because *God* has stamped them differently. If we could have immigration from the North and capital from any quarter, we could with hope be once more prosperous. What is in the future for Texas? I ask for information. I want to know for my *own sake* for I keep near the shore. I have been afraid to leave it. I live retired and humbly, on a little farm ten miles from Galveston. I have never been at a political meeting since the Surrender, nor participated in any political plans or movements. I deemed this the proper as well as the most prudent course for me with my antecedents. Had I been a “Union man” before the war, I should have acted differently. Write me fully in reply. Your letter shall be *private* as all your letters on politics are unless you say to the contrary.

I have three children. My oldest is a boy the others girls. Your oldest is in my wife’s album along side of yourself. I should be glad for my wife and yours to know each other. I think I have one of the best in the world, and Guy says your wife looks like one of the very best. My Sister and Guy were much pleased with your wife. Give to her my sincere regards with the hope that when the clouds that hang over my State are dispelled, that prosperity will visit me again with the rest of her citizens, and enable me to visit you in Ohio as I would be pleased to receive you in Texas. The Past—the past can not, will not be forgotten by me; the memories of Old Kenyon are still dear and the face of my dear friend and classmate [is as] often before me as in days of disinterested friendship. *You* I know love those days, so do *I*. You were (to me) a great part of them though our *Uniforms* are different, still our *hearts* are the *same*. You did what *you* thought was *right*, so did I. I now bow to the *power* I have *felt*, and in manly truth say I wish to strike no more blows, for *mine* are weak and *I know it*. I yield obedience to and will in good faith support the government that protects me, this is the sentiment of the South. Hayes do try and make your leaders believe it. Give O “Give us *peace*”—that peace that springs from *Civil law, justly made, and intelligently* executed.

My wife would send kind messages but she and my children are in Galveston.

Direct to me care of Ballinger & Jack Galveston.

Sincerely your friend Guy M Bryan

P. S. I talk to my children about you. They know you. Do yours know me? Regards to Platt.

HAYES TO BRYAN

State of Ohio

Executive Department.

Columbus, 21st Jan'y 1869

My dear Guy

Your New Year's letter made me happy. Time is rapidly getting our political differences out of the way. We shall hardly be as wide apart again as we were ten years ago. Personally we never were divided. Hereafter I hope we shall meet in as complete accord as need be for close friendship. I was at Gambier Monday to see the inauguration of a new President. The enclosed gives you a report of it. Altogether a good time. I spoke of you to numbers of old friends who have friendly recollections of Auld Lang Syne; Hurd, Buttles, Jones &c always ask about you.

Excuse this. I am writing in the office with too many interruptions to write consecutively. My regards to your wife & children. I hope to see you again soon.

As ever

R.

HAYES TO BRYAN

State of Ohio

Executive Department.

Columbus, 23rd July 1870

Dear Guy:

I have long thought of writing you, and been anxious to hear from you again. The slip I send reminds me forcibly of old college days. Tudor Fay was one of my nearest neighbors in C. We daily met. He often spoke of you with the friendly and amiable feeling of years ago. You notice the tone of the article. He was formerly devout, became a sceptic, was severely cen-

sured, felt it keenly, and was somewhat embittered. In all my intercourse with him I found him as warm hearted, kind and friendly as when a boy. What he may have said to give offense to his church associates, if anything, I do not know.

My family is without change except the change which years bring. My oldest boy is almost 17. My only daughter is the charming one, nearly three. Uncle Birchard made me a long visit a few weeks ago. I hunted up and read to him a sort of journal of our Texas trip, reviving recollections of that interesting time, and of the persons we then met, so many of whom have passed away.

We both retain the old feeling for you and yours in full measure. I do not know how much our political differences have affected your feelings. I trust not at all. One thing, I doubt not, that as to the practical questions of the present and the future we are substantially in accord. At any rate I assure you I am

As ever your friend

R B Hayes

P. S. My kindest regards to Mrs. Bryan.